20c MAY 25, 1953 BUSINESS FIRST—WILSON & WEEKS

New Republic

Editorial

Should The Big Three Meet Now?

In 1800

How "McCarthy" Was Whipped

William O. Douglas on

The Collected Speeches of Adlai E. Stevenson

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Our Readers

Communists in The Churches

● Captain MacNeal is out of touch with reality in his appraisal of the Communist threat and the churches. He rebukes the *New Republic* for stating: "Congress has the right to investigate subversion in the churches in its general inquiry into the activities of the Communist Party." He adds: "For such a statement you will get no support in the official publications of either the Unitarians or Universalist denominations. Few Episcopalian publications would dare to publish the like."

May the official publication of the Unitarians (incidentally, the oldest religious journal of continuous publication in America) reply?

Alarmed by the incontestable infiltration of churches by Communists, this magazine published a 10-point checklist, "How to Recognize an American Communist" (as well as one on pro-Fascists) in mid-1947—to help church members identify the infiltrators. This was done in a period when the Junior Senator from Wisconsin was enjoying and accepting the support of the Communist labor unions in his state which had supplied the margin of victory in the 1946 election (as documented in the Anderson and May book, *McCarthy: The Man, The Senator, The "Ism"*).

In 1951, when one minister refused to testify before a Congressional committee on the grounds that a minister had a privileged status, this magazine immediately disavowed his position, stating:

> We cannot advocate that the government should behave in one way toward editors, plumbers, managers, teachers, carpenters, and doctors, and another way toward ministers, rabbis and priests. . . . To argue that there is an immunity from the lawful investigation of the Congress conferred by ordination, is to argue for a principal long ago rejected by this country. Canon law has never had effect here: all the people are subject to the same laws.

Parenthetically, not all *NR* readers may have realized that the Frederick May Eliot who signed the letter in your May 4 issue endorsing your editorial position is president of one of the denominations cited by Captain MacNeal—the Unitarians.

Boston, Mass. MELVIN ARNOLD

● ". . . the churches and the nation must insist that on an issue of this gravity, Congressional inquiry is not governed by malice, irresponsibility, or political gain." (*NR* April 20).

What, pray are the inquiries governed by? Sir, your magazine sounds suspiciously like the bystander begging the fox to be ethical with the chicken.

My trial subscription expires next week. I shall switch over to the *Nation,* which has not tailored its conscience to fit this year's fashions.

However I shall try two or three *NR's,* being most curious to see which way you swing.

New York, N. Y. M. KELLIN

A New China Policy

● How to free captive China is at present the most controversial issue in domestic and international politics. This controversy will disappear if we could formulate a judicial and bi-partisan foreign policy in China. . . .

At present the Chinese Nationalists control Formosa, and the democratic elements are either underground or in exile in Hongkong and abroad. The problem of freeing captive China is so herculean that there is plenty of room for all the Chinese anti-Red forces to share the common task. . . . When the Japanese invaded China in 1937 Chiang Kai-shek invited his enemies, leaders of all opposition political parties in Lu Shan, Kiangsi, to a conference for effecting a united front against the invaders. The present conditions in China are worse than those in 1937, but Chiang Kai-shek has not extended a similar gracious and friendly gesture to the exiled leaders of the opposition parties underground and abroad.

It is our self interest to instruct our diplomatic representative in Formosa to bring diplomatic pressure on Chiang Kai-shek to call such a conference to organize a united anti-Red front to free captive China. Our representative must participate in the meeting as an observer playing the role of General George Marshall in order that the safety of the delegates be assured and protected. Furthermore American and Chinese news correspondents must be allowed to attend the meeting so that it will be an open one instead of a packed Nationalist assembly. Following this Chiang Kai-shek must be persuaded to give up his dictatorship and to cancel the order given by him two years ago to suspend the working of the Chinese constitution. Finally, a coalition government representing the multi-Chinese political parties should be organized to be entrusted with the task of founding a crusade with a freedom legion to free captive China.

With such a political united front as the above the 12 million overseas Chinese abroad could be enlisted to contribute money and manpower to form the freedom legion to start a revolution in the mainland or to invade the mainland from either the Indo-China or Burma borders.

San Francisco, Calif. JUN-KE CHOY

(Continued on page 4)

To Our Readers

● Why do we edit the *New Republic* in Washington? For once the answer is simple. The editors of a journal whose basic concern is political policy can read the newspapers and reflect upon them, or they can search out national policy where it originates. We suppose that our subscribers can read the New York *Times* and reflect upon it without our assistance. So, in Washington, we gather information that the *Times* does not print, and form our own views after discussions with the best men we can find.

For example—14 interviews, with Americans, British, German and French spokesmen went into this week's editorial: and the views that emerge are solely our own.

* * *

The exchange we printed between McCarthy and James Wechsler raises new questions on each re-reading. Wechsler for instance is made to accept the label of ex-Communist; McCarthy claims the label of anti-Communist. How absurd!

No one calls McCarthy an ex-Democrat or Eisenhower an ex-General. Why is Wechsler branded an ex-Communist? The glory of this nation was once its conviction that every man should change and grow and be accepted for what he is. The only true ex-Communists are those who in hatred and malice continue to be possessed by the Communist Party as utterly as in the days when they paid dues.

If the Communist Party dissolved tomorrow, Wechsler would continue the same man as before. But McCarthy would collapse like a pricked balloon. The ant feeds off the aphid that it puts out to fatten each spring; the aphid would starve unless the ant carried it to the leaf. The same symbiotic relation marries McCarthy to the Communist Party. McCarthy provides the Communists the best evidence for their contention that politics will be settled by force and violence. In turn McCarthy fattens on the Communist threat. If McCarthy should succeed in his supposed objective of destroying the Communist menace he would on the same day destroy himself.

The one-time softness of liberals for Communism is well condemned by now. The softness of businessmen for McCarthy is just as dangerous. And it continues. One businessman we know sent copies of our reprint of the Senate report on McCarthy to 200 business friends. Almost without exception they dismissed this Senate document as lies. Only one man was prepared to reflect on the report. He was shattered. In anguish he cried: "If you can't believe McCarthy, then who can you believe!" *M. S.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MAY 25, 1953

5 Wide Open for the Soviet Punch An Editorial
7 The Week:
7 McCarthy's Week
7 The Changing South
8 Hard Money Hits Back, by Harry F. Conn
9 Pope Pius XII—Politics and Sacrifice
10 Wilson & Weeks: Business First by Scientist Q
13 A Dulles Plan for the Middle East? by Tom Fitzsimmons
16 How "McCarthy" was Whipped in 1800, by Irving Brant
18 Literature and the Arts:
18 Adlai Stevenson, *Major Campaign Speeches*, by William O. Douglas
18 Bonner Fellers, *Wings for Peace*, by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.
19 John Cheever, *The Enormous Radio* and J. D. Salinger, *Nine Stories*, by Arthur Mizener
20 Christopher Burney, *Solitary Confinement*, by A. Powell Davies
21 John Lehmann, *Age of the Dragon*, by M. L. Rosenthal
22 Hofstra College Shakespeare Festival, by Eric Bentley

EDITOR, Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Gilbert A. Harrison
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Eveti, Music Critic.
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Allen Tate, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1953 IN THE USA BY NEW REPUBLIC, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE, 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1825 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 230 WEST 41st ST., NEW YORK 36, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50.

WASHINGTON WIRE

LONDON, Paris, the Vatican, India all say the eight-point Communist truce proposal at Panmunjom was a pretty good offer. The Reds recognized, at least tentatively, voluntary repatriation of prisoners. They made several concessions. The US drew up counter-proposals which, in effect, rejected the Communist offer, asked new concessions and made no concessions in return. Only after it was drawn up was it shown to other UN countries and then without time for them to play an effective role. Many impartial observers, including fair-minded American correspondents, feel our action was injudicious if not high-handed.

This does not mean to say that prisoners should be repatriated against their will. But in the tortuous process of bargaining to end a war which the US unfortunately has not won there must be an elaborate give and take. At the point where the US (or "UN," if you prefer) could have made counter-concessions it tossed in new conditions. One of these was designed to mollify difficult Syngman Rhee. Right after the armistice 34,000 North Koreans who refused repatriation were to be released. This pleases Rhee all right, but once made, it will be hard ever to withdraw again.

Peace-making for Eisenhower is terribly difficult. The GOP isolationists and bitter-enders are moving in on him. Concessions are termed "appeasement." The very Senators who demand defense slashes require bloody victory in Korea. Yet, even so, Churchill's bold proposal for top-level, big-power talks might have cleared the air had it not been followed by Attlee's gratuitously condescending lecture to America. The speech gave the GOP irresponsibles a glorious chance to scream, bringing back answering scream for scream from dear old Blighty. Moscow grinned and gloated.

Some conclusions on the affair: The Reds obviously won't make concessions while the US and UK are tearing at each other's throats. It seems sad but true that we have somehow managed to alienate most of our allies at Panmunjom. Here in Washington the GOP right-wingers and isolationists are weaving a web around Dulles to make him as much a captive as Acheson was. "McCarthyism" has now definitely leaped out of the domestic into the international arena. And finally McCarthy is now bent on using his peculiar methods to prove pro-Communist not an individual but a whole nation—our ally, Britain. He has seized a lever by which he may well pry the two angry nations apart for good. Britain must have trade to live. The State Department has heretofore reluctantly acquiesced in British trade with Red China in "non-strategic" goods. McCarthy is now out to inflame the American public against this trade and demand a blockade. He has begun by imputing Communism to Attlee, rebuked Churchill and the House of Commons for not condemning the Labour leader and now proceeds to imply the whole of Britain would betray America for the profits of the Chinese trade. The world is equating America in terms of McCarthy.

Once more we say McCarthy is the responsibility of just one man—Eisenhower. The burden grows heavier and heavier, and the danger greater and greater.

Washington is hardly the intellectual capital of America but normally the news that flows out of it sets the political tone of the country. Right now there is a singular lag in this news. In long experience we can't recall anything quite like it.

Reporters shrug their shoulders. Most of them feel Ike's Administration is a disappointment so far in its vacillation and indecisiveness, but they also feel there's not much use reporting this unpleasant fact to home offices that sup-

-- LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ported Ike's candidacy. Sophisticated outsiders are startled by the discovery of the widespread feeling so different from the mood outside, which is only now seeping into the press. A good illustration of how this lag occurs is cited by the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch: Time* magazine didn't carry a story on the Roberts' GOP resignation scandal, or on the Astin Bureau of Standards case, till two or three weeks after the story had broken in each instance. This is typical of sluggishness in this kind of news.

"When the American public sticks its head in the sand, it buries it way down deep," said one veteran reporter. Another, asked by a visitor what he thought of the Eisenhower scene so far, answered, "Well" — (pause) — "I'm having a hard time believing what I'm looking at!"

A feature of this situation is the frequency of stories to the effect that now, at last, Ike is going to take a firm stand, and really assume command of Congress. Announcement of his nation-wide talk on the budget and taxes revived these hopes.

Notes: Reversing Teddy Roosevelt's admonition to "walk softly and carry a big stick," Washington has shown a disposition to bellow louder while trimming the defense budget. . . . Calling Churchill "Sir Winston" is as hard for this column as it would have been to call Lincoln "Sir Abraham." . . . Taft's power grows and grows in the Administration; Dewey's shrinks. Taft has now got an all-new Joint Chiefs of Staff, as he urged, with his man, Admiral Radford, as head. . . . The Immigration Service is furiously screening entrants on both coasts and the Canadian border but lacks funds to block surreptitious Mexican "wetbacks" estimated to be now entering at the rate of two a minute; Congress withholds funds because employers like cheap labor. . . . Stassen was found guilty by Ike and Dulles of premature anti-McCarthyism. . . . The Treasury "hard money" policy has forced some US bonds to historic lows; cries of business anguish deeply worry the Administration.

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 2)

Government and Business

● . . . As long as we are turning the clock back—taking the government out of the power business, out of the synthetic fuel business, out of the synthetic rubber business, out of the atomic energy business, etc.—I can see no reason why Ike and his "Steal Trust" cannot take the government out of the war business.

Let the Defense Department call for bids for the conduct of the Korea War among the larger firms (Small Business Committee keep out of this), and then we would never have to worry whether it was Truman's war, or Acheson's war, or the Truman-Acheson War. . . . It would be simply, General Motors, Mills, Electric, or possibly, Remington-Rand's War. (We might have to watch Charley Wilson a bit, in case the British slipped in a low bid, but the Buy American Act should take care of this eventuality nicely.)

There are enough retired Generals floating around in the ranks of the board of directors of the large firms to make this plan entirely feasible. I am surprised that no public-relations firm has come up with this idea.

Bloomington, Ill. ROBERT W. STELZNER

What Kind of *NR*?

● Although I have been a subscriber to *NR* for several years and have not before written to express my appreciation, I have constantly given thanks for this oasis in the journalistic desert.

There are numerous things I might mention, such as the stimulating comments of T.R.B., the concise coverage of worth-while news, and your most admirable anti-McCarthyism campaign, in which Mr. Ickes was such a great fighter. Parenthetically, may I make my plea—in view of your new reliance on reader support and recent criticism that *NR* does not appeal to the "average" reader—that you never deviate from the main outline of your present policy.

But after reading *NR* of May 4, I especially want to congratulate you on the high quality of your reviews and criticism, one example of which was Mr. Tyler's review of Griffith's *The World of Robert Flaherty*. And Eric Bentley's comment on Martha Graham as dramatist and "supreme personality" was one of the most gratifying pieces I have ever read—I shall recall it every time the critic's role requires justification. To me, the last few pages of *NR* are always as profitable reading as any of the other sections, and deserving of as much praise as the rest of the magazine evokes with every issue.

Houston, Tex. SELWYN JONES

Bandwagon

A few citizen-critics who labeled two headings on the county elementary school report cards as "leftish" won a victory yesterday when a schools committee changed the headings in revising the cards. . . .

The committee changed the title of the card from "Progress Report"—criticized as "implying progressive, or leftish"—to "Report to Parents."

It altered the subheading, "Social Studies"—which a few parents interpreted as meaning "socialistic"—to "Social Science." – *From the Louisville* Times.

* * *

SACRAMENTO—Assemblyman Harold K. Levering (Rep-Los Angeles) complained to the Rules Committee today that school children coming to view the lawmakers at work are "crawling all over the lobbyists."

Levering proposed that seats be set aside in the Assembly's public gallery for lobbyists and other grownups.

"Lobbyists are kicking, kicking and kicking and I don't know if I blame them," the majority floor leader and author of the loyalty-oath laws declared. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

Correction

An unusually early deadline led to the publication of errors which we regret, in addition to deletions made necessary by lack of space, in the article on interest rates by Professor Seymour Harris in our issue of May 11.

On corrections: The cost of the national debt is not $1 billion as we stated, but $1 billion more than in 1946; the decline of 1.5 percent was in the average between the wholesale price index and the cost of living index, not in the latter alone; the sum this nation would have paid for debt charges over the last 20 years at the interest rates which prevailed in the twenties would have been $50 billion and not $500 billion. Prof. Harris asks us to record that the titles used were not his, and points out that he favors a controlled market in money partly because "a controlled market in money is the price that must be paid to have free markets elsewhere."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 128, NUMBER 21, ISSUE 2008, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 25, 1953 **New Republic**

WIDE OPEN FOR THE SOVIET PUNCH

Is THIS the time for talks with the Soviet leaders? President Eisenhower's answer is that the Russians must first show their good faith in deeds, not words. The rest of the world suspects that the unreadiness lies in Washington as much as in Moscow. Regrettably the suspicion is confirmed by the rift opened in Anglo-American relations since Sir Winston Churchill spoke on May 11 to the House of Commons.

Churchill's speech, with its daring offer to the Kremlin, was prepared without consultation with Washington. It made almost no mention of this country. It was described rightly, by a British paper, the Birmingham *Post*, as "an attempt to bring about a thaw in international relations even if it means incurring the temporary displeasure of the United States." Obviously, progress toward peace starts with a meeting between Churchill and Eisenhower, not one with Malenkov. For "temporary displeasure" is a mild description of the anger that Churchill's speech caused in Washington. The response varied from Eisenhower's cold criticism to McCarthy's unilateral declaration of war on Britain as a maritime power and his smearing of a former British Prime Minister as if he were a State Department employee.

Before McCarthy triumphs in this nation, we should reflect how far the fault lies on our side. We should remember that Churchill is a lifelong advocate of Anglo-American unity. We should realize that it was precisely because his speech voiced independence of the United States, and criticism of US policy, that it was hailed in Britain as the greatest of his long career.

What has happened to our two peoples? When Democrats worked with Socialists or Tories, the partnership of Britain and America formed the one solid basis for democratic resistance to Communist expansion. Some men assumed that the partnership would grow still closer when a Republican President took his place beside a Tory Prime Minister. Instead the two nations have been forced apart. The fault lies largely on our side.

A series of regrettable incidents have aroused anti-American feeling in Great Britain. The appointment of a super-annuated money raiser to the Court of St. James was the first blunder. The naming of a twice divorced woman to represent the United States at the coronation was a further at a country whose State Church frowns on all divorce. Our efforts to induce Soviet pilots to desert by bribes outraged British sensibilities. The efforts of Cohn and Schine to subject the BBC to McCarthyism outraged British pride. The high-handedness of the US negotiators at the Paris meeting of NATO, coupled with their determination to cut US aid to Europe, made hypocrites of us in British eyes. Our hypocrisy was compounded when, after endless lectures on the need for trade expansion, President Eisenhower turned down the low British bid for electrical equipment on the Chief Joseph Dam. United States intervention during a crisis in Britain's relations with Egypt was provocative enough; Eisenhower's gift of a revolver to General Naguib at the very moment when Egyptians were firing on British soldiers, was a gesture that raised Truman's letter to the music critic to the level of high statesmanship.

All of these irritants would be trivial if Britain and America were agreed on major policies. Instead, we are divided. On China, Formosa, the Pacific Pact, the Korean Armistice, East-West trade, tariffs and Middle East defense, the division between Eisenhower and Churchill ranges from limited disagreement to open conflict. Only on Germany have the US and British governments stood together, and now, on German policy, Churchill foreshadows a shift in the British view.

Now the conflict is spread in the open, for the Russians to exploit and for us to repair. The time is poor for any talks with the Kremlin while we and our primary ally disagree. Yet the world waits. The Soviet leaders need only grasp Churchill's outstretched hand to make it plain to the world that while Russia will talk, and France will talk, America will not talk because we fear peace.

So we stand wide open for the Soviet punch. There is no logic in rejecting the informal, general and off-the-record conversations that Churchill proposed in the name of the formal and detailed conferences now deadlocked in Vienna and Panmunjom. If the Russians accept Churchill's offer, then we will risk less by talking than by refusing to talk. If the Soviet leaders are stupid enough (in missing short-term advantages) or wise enough (in preferring the long-term benefits of our good will) to refrain from punching us we must still move to bring British and American policies into line.

The natural course to the Republican leaders once the need for unity is acknowledged, is to require Britain and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the non-Communist nations to accept our views on pain of being denied all US aid. That course is now well sponsored in the Senate. If followed it will split the non-Communist nations, open the world to Soviet expansion and leave the United States standing alone.

The alternative is to consider carefully Churchill's warning and his advice.

Churchill's first argument is that we should not seek too much in negotiations with the Kremlin. He challenges Eisenhower's concept of a world in which sinners are converted to the true religion and everyone lives happily forever after. He holds out the modest objective of peace for one generation. Replying directly to Eisenhower's call for grandiose and sweeping settlements, Churchill stresses a modest approach:

> It would, I think, be a mistake to assume that nothing can be settled with Soviet Russia unless everything is settled. Piecemeal solutions of individual problems should not be disdained or improvidently put aside. It certainly would do no harm if, for awhile, each side looked about for things to do which would be agreeable instead of being disagreeable to each other.

Here it is Churchill and not Eisenhower whose views accord with the traditional relations of states, with the nature of the conflict between Communism and democracy, and with the outlook of independent peoples. We would do well to accept the British point of view.

Churchill's second argument is that we should seek agreements with the Communists and not their unconditional surrender. Replying once again to Eisenhower's call for terms that amount to Communist surrender in Korea and in Germany, Churchill emphasizes Russia's natural fears and legitimate desires, and argues that the latest Communist offer at Panmunjom "requires patient and sympathetic consideration."

Once again it is Churchill, not Eisenhower, whose views accord with world realities. We may have built up strength in the last five years. But the Communists have also grown stronger. We are in no position to bring about military victory in Europe or in Asia; therefore we are in no position to demand unconditional surrender. Moreover, our position is unsound as well as unenforceable. For the latest Communist offer on Korea is very close to the plan submitted by India to the United Nations, and we voted for that plan. We may prefer to forget that; but we should remember that the Labour Party spokesman in the House of Commons debate voiced the truth when he declared that if the truce talks break down in Panmunjom the world will, rightly or wrongly, hold the United States to blame.

Churchill's third plea is for the normalization of relations between the Communist and non-Communist worlds. Implied in this argument is the entry of Communist China into the United Nations following a cease-fire in Korea. Implied also is the withdrawal of Soviet troops to Soviet frontiers.

The second point is shared by Eisenhower. But Eisenhower offers the Russians no incentive to retreat. He proposes to dramatize and publicize the Soviet withdrawal from east Germany and Poland by free elections and trials of strength. He makes it clear that Germany, once united, must be free to join a military alliance led by the United States. Churchill, in contrast, searches for assurances to Russia that will offer some incentive for her to retreat. The illustration he uses is the Locarno Agreement. It represented the normalization of relations between Germany and the allies after World War I and that is the objective Churchill now sets the world.

Once again it is Churchill and not Eisenhower whose approach accords with world realities. For the non-Communist nations are anxious to normalize relations with the Communist world. It is this ambition, expressed in the desire of Europe and Asia to deal with Communist China and to expand East-West trade, that runs like a thread through all the separate disagreements between the US and our allies. Ironically it is precisely the same desire, to return to normalcy, that elected Eisenhower. Moreover Eisenhower is meeting that desire by reducing the scale of our domestic and overseas effort.

The present conflict between the US and its allies does not lie in the contrast between Europe's lowered effort and our heightened effort. It lies in the willingness of European nations to recognize that a reduced effort means a lowering of demands on the Communist governments and the refusal of Eisenhower and the Republicans in Congress to concede this simple and central point.

The point here is not that our demands should be lowered; it is that our demands and our effort should accord. It is consistent to maintain our demands on the Communist nations, if we are prepared to bring about the predominance of strength that we lack now, and if our allies will follow our lead. Or, if we attempt less, we must seek less. Instead we have allowed a gap to open between the demands that we make in the name of the West, and the effort which we and the Western nations are prepared to make. The Western nations understand this. That is the cause of the rift within the West. Churchill knows it and he is warning us. We should heed his warning and acknowledge his leadership. Unless we bring our demands and our efforts into balance, we may lose our allies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

MC CARTHY'S WEEK

Theodore Kaghan was considered by most American newsmen on the spot one of America's most effective counter-propaganda experts in Europe. His work in Germany and Austria was publicly praised by both Leopold Figl, Chancellor of Austria, and Ernst Reuter, Mayor of Berlin. But McCarthy's inquisitive youngsters, Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine, disagreed; more, they found Kaghan too independent. Kaghan, for his part, found the youngsters ridiculous. He said so. Last week he was forced to resign.

The pressure was applied at the order of W. Scott McLeod, State Department Security Officer who is now all-powerful in personnel matters and who takes his orders from McCarthy—and it was crude. First, Kaghan was threatened with vague "new charges" if he did not resign. He refused, confident he could clear himself. Then he was told McLeod wanted him out, and that he was, in fact, out. He was reminded that his two children and his personal belongings were still in Germany. He could make it easy on himself by submitting a resignation effective a few weeks hence, or be fired, apply for a visa, wait, borrow some money, etc. He resigned in disgust, one more man who had dared defend his reputation and that of the State Department only to be turned out for his temerity. The impression of cowardice in high places was strengthened.

Declaring himself satisfied with the State Department, McCarthy turned to bigger things. Former Prime Minister Clement Attlee had criticized the United States. McCarthy made no attempt to meet that criticism with a factual counter-argument; the old, proven tactics were good enough. He spoke of "Comrade Attlee," of his "long and odious career," of the "team of Attlee and Acheson . . . working with the Communists toward the expansion of Communist control throughout the world," and of their "compromise with treason." He referred to photographs of Attlee (in Spain during the Spanish Revolution) giving the "Communist salute."

"Britain," said McCarthy, "is trying to blackmail us into accepting the Communist plan." We should tell Britain to withdraw from Korea "and be damned." "And then," McCarthy added, "let us sink every accursed ship carrying material to [China]."

Unlike the State Department, the US Senate is not yet completely cowed by McCarthy. A dissenting voice was raised—one. Sen. John Sherman Cooper (R, Ky.) said, "I do not think we can allow the immoderate statements [of Clement Attlee] to go unchallenged." But "as we chasten others for immoderate statements, we must ourselves guard against reckless statements." Indicatively, in the atmosphere created by McCarthy, these reasonable words seemed singularly colorless.

THE CHANGING SOUTH

For the first time since 1871, three prominent Negroes have been elected to public office in Atlanta. The victories were doubly remarkable because each candidate had to overcome special barriers thrown in their way by local bigots.

Two months ago, on the excuse that the Legislature, in redistricting the city, had made no provision for election of its successors, the Atlanta Democratic Executive Committee voted to keep themselves in office until 1958. This automatically prevented Negro Attorneys A. T. Walden, Roderick Harris and Miles G. Amos from filing for those positions as they had intended. But a coalition of Atlanta citizens immediately contested that action, a local judge eventually overruled the Committee, and Attorneys Walden and Amos were both elected in the primary.

The die-hards had one more ace to play. Two days before the election, incumbent Committeeman Watson Cary charged that Dr. Rufus Clement, Negro President of Atlanta University and candidate for the city School Board, sponsored and belonged to nine "subversive" organizations. Cary claimed his facts came from the Un-American Activities Committee and Atlanta's Rep. James C. Davis. After Dr. Clement swore the charges were untrue and produced a Coca-Cola official and former Board of Regents chairman as chief character witness, the Committee, by one vote, agreed to leave his name on the ballot.

Dr. Clement defeated his white opponent J. H. Landers by the widest margin in the city-wide election, and won in a majority of the white wards. Landers, who had served on the School Board for 26 years, admitted that he had not made "a single campaign speech because I thought I could win without campaigning. I didn't think the people were ready for this." Dr. Clement, for whom at least 13,000 white Atlantans had voted, modestly declared, "The people of the South are far ahead of what some people think they are."

Taunts and Gibes

"Taunts in American newspapers are answered by gibes in English newspapers, bitter speeches by American Senators are cabled to England, and hurt, and are answered by stinging satire. . . . Good God! Is the world not old enough to get rid of all that silly, childish barbarism? Has it learned no lesson at all out of the massacre of its youth on the altars of stupidity. Are civilized peoples to go on flinging mud at each other for sport, pulling snooks at each other across the frontiers or the seas, uttering provocative cries like dirty little schoolboys to each other, for the sake of scoring off each other in newspapers and political debates, careless of the horrible dangers which are thereby caused?" —*Philip Gibbs*, New Republic, *May 5, 1920.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HARD MONEY HITS BACK

THE NATION'S business community, which for years had seemed so firmly united behind the principle of a "tighter money" market, now is splitting on all directions over just such a policy.

The division, precipitated by Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey's 30-percent increase in interest rates on a $1 billion issue of government bonds on April 29, generally pits the big banks and lending institutions on one side and big and small industrialists, utility executives and businessmen on the other. It has reached right into the Eisenhower Cabinet where Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson and several other General Motors and big industry alumni are arrayed against Cleveland banker Humphrey and Detroit banker Joseph Dodge, director of the Budget.

A General Motors official is quoted as saying that the Humphrey "hard money" policy will dry up the economy and bring on a depression. To an industry that's trying to sell six million automobiles this year that is a major threat. More immediately, big manufacturers feel that big banks, insurance companies and lending agencies are getting too large a share of the pie.

The large investors have this lush deal: They are finding the increased interest rates on government issues extremely profitable and, in addition, are enjoying larger revenues from interest rate increases on all forms of borrowing. Then too as prices fall on all forms of private, corporation and municipal bonds and securities, the larger institutions are in position to buy them up and, over a period of time, to make terrific killings.

The net result of this increase has been a corresponding jump in the cost of all forms of borrowing to a point higher than at any time since the panic year of 1933. It makes the lending business one of the most profitable in the country. Ironically, 10 days after the increase on the government issue the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation announced that the profits of the nation's banks had jumped to new heights in 1952, 11 percent greater than in 1951.

At the same time many manufacturing and utility companies find their profits declining. On May 14, 1953, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that many of these had planned plant expansions during this year but are being forced to cut back or abandon the plans. Where they are continuing, they are forced to pay millions of dollars more than they had anticipated, much of which will be passed on to the consumer. The Alabama Power Co., as one example, will have to pay $2.7 million more on a 30-year, $18-million bond issue than it would if it had floated a similar issue back in March.

Here are some more examples of the cost to various groups of the interest rate increase, as estimated by the Public Affairs Institute in a forthcoming study of fiscal policies and the interest rate spiral of 1953.

Federal Housing Administration loans are up to 4½ percent from 4 ¼. Veterans Administration Loans are up to 4½ percent from 4 percent. It is estimated that these increases will cost home buyers some $18 million more each year. The Commodity Credit Corporation has increased rates on price-support loans to farmers from 3½ percent to 4 percent. The extra cost to the farmers is estimated at $12.5 million annually.

The Export-Import Bank was established to help stabilize farm prices and income by encouraging and aiding farm exports. On April 14 the bank was "pressed" to get into line by raising its rates on two short-term credits to Japan and Spain from 2¾ percent to 3½ percent—an increase of $52 million in interest, sufficient to buy 250,000 bales of raw cotton at existing prices.

Between January and May, 1953, interest rates on prime commercial paper and prime commercial loans rose to their highest levels since the panic of 1933. Three increases raised the average rate from 2¼ percent to 3⅝ percent. On May 1, the three largest auto finance companies increased their basic interest rates on auto loans by one-half percent. In 1952 auto installment credit expanded $2 billion. The increase would add $10 billion to the cost of buying automobiles.

The impact has thrown real fear into a business community that had long advocated a "sound money" approach. One of its prime spokesmen, *Business Week* magazine on May 9, 1953, pleaded for "Nothing in Excess." BW said:

"All these events suggest that it is time for the Federal Reserve to ease up a little on its tight-money policy. We are glad to know that the brakes work, but we don't want to go through the windshield."

On May 14 the New York *Journal of Commerce* entered its call for a "middle course without delay." The *Journal* stressed that the Treasury is potentially such a large borrower that when it competes in the open market place for funds "a sharp rise in interest rates is bound to result. . . . Such a rise in interest rates, past experience has shown, is bound in time to precipitate a depression."

HARRY F. CONN

Harry F. Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POPE PIUS XII—POLITICS AND SACRIFICE

POPE PIUS XII seems to have set out to win the forthcoming Italian national legislative elections for the Christian Democratic Party. He is taking an active personal part in the political militancy of the Italian Catholic Action organization in a campaign which promises to be as intense and bitter as any in Europe's postwar history. As a matter of fact, it was the Pope's blessing—which was also a briefing—of some 500 leaders and members of the ICA's "Civic Committees" that really gave the campaign its start. He called them "Christian activitists" and told them to carry their political crusading "to all places and to all classes of people."

The Pope has himself been a political activist for many years. Yet his intervention in the campaigning for the June 7 election is remarkable for several reasons. First, there is his age. He is in his seventy-eighth year, and in the fifteenth of his reign as the Vicar of Christ on earth, successor to the See of Saint Peter, Bishop of Rome and head of the Roman Catholic Church. Other leading European statesmen are in their seventies—Churchill, Adenauer, de Gasperi, for example. But the Pope's health seemed last year to be so obviously failing that when he called his second "Red" Consistory—a session of the Sacred College of Cardinals at which new members are named—it was generally assumed that he was preparing the succession to the Triple Tiara.

For seven years had elapsed since the first "Red" Consistory. And had not Therese Neumann, the famous mystic with the stigmata, of Konnersreuth in Bavaria, predicted long ago that the Pope would not long survive his second?

Moreover, the Pope fell ill on January 22 and was not able to hold an audience until March 15. It was the longest and most severe illness of his entire pontificate. Since then, however, his recovery has been little short of miraculous. During Easter week, for example, he received in audience the enormous total of more than 20,000 persons. And immediately afterward he returned to a schedule of work which, even without the increased political activity, would have been an extraordinary burden for a man of his years.

Persons close to him say that he is dominated by the feeling that he must find the strength for this work because this year will be crucial both for Italy and for the Roman Catholic world—indeed for the whole world. The Italian Chamber of Deputies and Senate, to be elected in June, will serve for five years. And the Pope believes that if Italy can be controlled for that length of time by a political party close to the Vatican, and influenced by such figures as Dr. Luigi Gedda of Catholic Action and Jesuit Father Lombardi, the Church will be able to resist foreseeable inroads into its areas of action both in Italy and in the whole Catholic world.

The choice of new members of the Sacred College at the Consistory early in the year was already a suggestion that the Pope was planning more active political action throughout the world. It reflected his belief that the Church needed in the College prelates with political or diplomatic experience. In addition, it created a species of "Latin bloc" designed to strengthen the normal "traditionalist" orientation of the Church, rather than to embark on any "modernism."

The College now has 26 Italian and 44 foreign Cardinals. Of the Italians, three were Nuncios in Spain, Portugal and France, one a former Nuncio in France. Of the foreigners, 16 are from Spain, Portugal and Latin America; seven from France, one each from Belgium, French Canada and Portugese Goa in India. The voting strength of the "Latin bloc" is sufficient to ensure the election of a new Pope, not only Italian but speaking for traditionalist currents.

There is no longer any talk about the possibility of a non-Italian Pope. And the most *papabile* of the Italian Cardinals are Archbishop Siri of Genoa, at 46 the youngest, and an able and active defender of Church "normalcy"; and Archbishop Lercaro of Genoa, a leading political activist on behalf of Premier de Gasperi's Christian Democrats.

The range of subjects with which the Pope has concerned himself during the last year or so is very broad, suggesting a desire to bequeath to his successor his views on every conceivable subject. His speeches, for example, to cite only random subjects, have covered art and astronomy; obstetrics and psychoanalysis; emigration and birth control; the role of working-class priests in France; the dangers of mechanization and de-personalization in the United States; the making of a united "Christian Europe"; the return to the Roman communion of the faithful of Russia's orthodox church; the settlement of world problems without disastrous world war.

He never uses a ghost writer, nor when the speech is finished does he read it directly from the text. He memorizes the speech at least a day before it is to be delivered.

Moreover, after having finished the final version of the speech or statement he reads copy on the text to be published in the official *Osservatore Romano*. When the document is for a foreign audience or public, the Pope makes or supervises the translation into English, French, German or Polish.

The Pope has the habits, tastes and interests of the scholar. After many years of experience as a diplomat, during which he held many posts and traveled widely abroad, he is a student of history and statecraft. He is by far the most politically-minded Pope since the Pius who granted a Constitution for the Papal States in 1848, earned thereby a reputation as a liberal, and then turned vigorously against liberalism in the Syllabus of Errors of 1864 and the Doctrine of Infallibility in 1870. Pope Pius XII does not expect longevity; indeed, he shows in his present attitude a willingness to cut short his life-span if, by his work on behalf of a clerical Catholic Christian Italy, he can hope to influence world politics over a period of centuries.

Rome FRANK GORRELL

The Charles C Chester Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILSON & WEEKS: BUSINESS FIRST

by Scientist Q

As though the attacks on the objectivity of the National Bureau of Standards and the forced resignation of its director (followed by his temporary reinstatement) on the AD-X2 issue were not enough, a parallel movement to undermine the technical activities of the Bureau in the field of defense research appears to have been launched. This was first revealed by the Washington *Post* on April 24:

> Prompted by a letter from Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson has ordered that no further research projects be placed with the Bureau of Standards or other government agencies except on his specific approval. While no official explanation was available as to the probable effect of the order, it is being widely interpreted at the Pentagon as being aimed at cutting down the Bureau and shifting at least some of its defense research to private industry.

The order was issued on April 4 by Deputy Secretary of Defense Roger M. Kyes, a former General Motors official now in Wilson's entourage. It read in part:

> Effective immediately no funds shall be obligated by any department or agency of the Department of Defense for research and development to be performed by any government agency outside the Department of Defense without specific approval of the Secretary or Deputy Secretary of Defense.
>
> Each proposed obligation for which approval is requested will be supported by a brief but adequate descriptive justification and submitted to the Secretary of Defense via (1) the Chairman, Research and Development Board, and (2) the Assistant Secretary of Defense [Comptroller].

The effect of this order will be to eliminate or discourage the placing of research and development projects at the National Bureau of Standards, some 75 percent of whose program is for the Department of Defense. In the past, projects placed at the Bureau were properly reviewed within the Defense Department. However, even the Research and Development Board exercised a general co-ordinating role, approving major programs and areas of defense research and development rather than each specific job.

The present order calls for review by the Secretary or Deputy Secretary, after a project has gone through the Research and Development Board and the Defense Comptroller, requiring specific scrutiny of every job, large or small, by three additional layers of bureaucracy. This, in turn, means that units within the Department of Defense, which have long conducted certain types of work at the Bureau, will be confronted by additional red-tape and delays and also with a fear of submitting projects through this panoply of offices in view of the natural tendency of subordinates to interpret properly and preferably to anticipate the wishes of the Secretary of Defense.

In terms of the Bureau's operations, the situation means that unless the Kyes order is revoked, dismissal notices will have to be sent to several hundred members of the staff 30 days before the end of the fiscal year—*i.e.*, on June 1. The number may reach 1,000 if some major projects suffer the fate of the smaller ones. Coming as the action did so close to the end of the fiscal year, orderly handling of the problem is in any case impossible.

The order also has some interesting consequences in terms of industry and the public. Many of the projects are not of interest to industry: They are either not large enough to be commercially attractive or they afford no prospects of repeat or production business. Many of these projects may well be eliminated even though they are important to defense and, in particular, to economy. Some of the projects are major ones—for example, the fuse work in which the Bureau pioneered and which accounts for the bulk (some $35 million) of the Bureau's defense program, half of which is sublet to various private companies. The business implications of the Kyes order were not missed by the Radio-Television Manufacturers (RTMA *Industry Report* for April 24) :

> The move has important implications to the electronics industry as 95 percent of the $35 to $40 million involved in projects being carried on by the Bureau on a contract basis falls in the general field of electronics. Approximately 222 projects are underway at the NBS for the three military services and about 70 percent of its employees are engaged in this type of work. Of the total working on these defense projects, officials point out that 80 percent are engaged in electronics.
>
> The sums concerned are not large in comparison to the over-all $45 billion defense budget, or the $1.5 billion spent with private industry and other government agencies for military research. But the results could be worth billions.
>
> It was emphasized that if the Bureau's defense work is shifted to private industry much more than research funds are involved. A company getting these research and development contracts would be on the ground floor for future guided-missile production contracts expected to mount into the multi-billion dollar class within a few years.

Although the Kyes order was issued with no reference to the Department of Commerce or the National Bureau of Standards, both the Washington *Post* and the *Star*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suggested that Secretary Weeks had a hand in the matter. The *Star*, on April 24, quoted from a letter written to Wilson by Weeks:

It seems to me that these added contracts, supplementary in nature in most instances, are coming through for pretty large sums of money. The Department of Commerce has no way of evaluating the necessity for these contracts since we are merely doing the work requested by the Department of Defense.

I bring this to your attention in case you wish to delegate someone to check these expenditures and, perhaps, suggest an examination and even a re-evaluation of the research programs of the Department of Defense.

Weeks never discussed his letter or the fuse program with anyone at the Bureau. Subsequent to the issuance of the Kyes order, officials at the Department stated that it was not his intent to affect the Bureau's program and that he was only concerned with the contracts sublet by the Bureau to industry.

Yet his conduct is strange both in the administrative sense, which would ordinarily call for consultation with his Bureau, and in the technical sense, for here the Bureau probably is the acknowledged authority. The proximity fuse, it should be pointed out, is not a single device but an intricate and growing family of electronic devices. The basic principle involves the transmission of radio waves from the fuse at the head of a weapon and the reception of signals reflected by the target. At a preselected distance from the target, the reflected signal is used to detonate the explosive charge. Almost every explosive weapon now requires this type of fuse—shells, bombs and guided missiles—and these fuses radically increase the effectiveness of such weapons. Near misses, for example, in anti-aircraft fire, are now lethal. Shells directed against ground troops can be detonated above ground for maximum destruction in contrast to the limited effectiveness of traditional shells which vented most of their damage within the ground. It was, by the way, the proximity fuse which saved the day for Eisenhower and the Allied forces in the Battle of the Bulge—and Dr. A. V. Astin, the dismissed director of the Bureau, was one of the group responsible for this development.

The importance of the Bureau's fuse program was presented to the Secretary of Defense by the Research and Development Board on April 3, the day before the Kyes order was issued:

The Bureau is uniquely qualified in this field and is performing a most important function for the Department of Defense. We are distinctly concerned over the possible deterioration of its competence if its key personnel leave now due to the loss of its director.

At the present time there is no other group in existence with the necessary team experience and diversity of skills which are required to manage proximity fuse developments for guided missiles, rockets, mortars and bombs.

Weeks' objective interest in the fuse program would, perhaps, be more readily believable were there not other evidence at hand. On May 1, Drew Pearson reported:

As far back as March 2, little more than a month after Sinclair Weeks was sworn in as Secretary of Commerce and as boss of the Bureau of Standards, Moorehead Patterson, president of the American Machine and Foundry Co., paid a visit to the Bureau of Standards. As head of the huge A. M. & F. Co., and a good friend of Secretary Weeks, Patterson was given a warm reception.

"I understand," said Patterson, "that this whole research and development program on fuses will soon be taken away from the Bureau. I want you all to know my company will be happy to pick up the pieces. In addition," he told the startled scientists, "I'm ready to move the whole operation, including personnel, to my Boston plant."

This was well before Sinclair Weeks fired Dr. Astin.

Patterson's visit was followed some seven to 10 days later by a visit from F. K. Powell, vice-president of the American Machine and Foundry Co. Powell discussed A. M. & F. plans again with various members of the Bureau's staff (offering jobs right and left) and with Commerce and Defense officials. It was not too long after these exploratory conversations that Weeks addressed himself to the Secretary of Defense.

There may be more, it is conceivable, to Weeks' interest in the fuse program than the friendship with Patterson that Pearson mentions. The branch to which the fuse operations would be moved is the Transducer Corporation, a subsidiary of A. M. & F., located in the Boston-Cambridge area. The two companies in which Weeks has his own major business interest are United Carr Fastener and Reed & Barton Corporation, both in the same area. In his testimony before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on January 19, prior to his confirmation, Weeks testified that about a third of his business was in the electronics field. This output consists largely of connectors and plugs used in electrical and electronic circuitry. He also indicated that, while some of the business was with the Defense Department, no more than $25 could be associated with the Department of Commerce, suggesting the disinterestedness that would characterize his administration of the Department of Commerce.

Perhaps Weeks is disinterested. Conclusive evidence one way or the other is lacking, but his letter and the Kyes order, the A. M. & F. desire to take over the fuse program, and Weeks own potential interests in the lat-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ter suggests that there may be more than meets the eye.

The present method of handling this program not only permits the issuance of contracts totaling about half the available funds to industry but ensures that all industry with suitable manufacturing potentials can secure the basic technical information that will enable any company to compete for the hundreds of millions of dollars involved in production contracts. Were the research program to be taken over by a private concern, several effects would be certain to follow. First, it is doubtful that the research could be done as well for some time to come or as economically. Second, the small- and medium-sized companies now receiving contracts from the Bureau might lose out. Third, and most important, the single concern getting the research program would be in a strategic position to acquire huge production contracts and could even monopolize the production picture, either in fact or by setting the terms for other firms.

Placed in friendly hands, the fuse program could lead to orders of many millions for Weeks' own company—not only the connectors and plugs produced by United Carr Fastener but silver solders and contacts that Reed & Barton could supply. There need be no understanding as to this. Among gentlemen, corporate ties can be as sentimentally binding as school ties.

In any event, these pieces fit into the general pattern known to be congenial to Weeks, Wilson & Co. They mesh nicely with Wilson's recent pronouncements on eliminating secondary contracts. They fit into the recent White House reorganization plan for Defense, under which the Research and Development Board is to be abolished and its functions placed under an assistant secretary. It is true that this move would permit the making of firm decisions—a pronounced weakness of the Board since its establishment and one that could have been avoided—but these decisions will also be more readily subject to expediency and pressure.

The pattern is also consistent with the Senate vote on tidelands oil and with several pending legislative proposals that would make further inroads on the public domain. The justificatory themes are few and simple: states rights, federal economy, free enterprise and small business. Weeks himself has used the latter three on appropriate occasions, for on the battery additive controversy one of his arguments was the harm that was being done to small businesses by big bureaus. He failed to allude to the harm that such actions as his have on small businesses that can not afford research facilities. You do not, for example, see American Telephone and Telegraph using battery additives in their hundreds of thousands of batteries. Nor did Weeks allude to the interest of the public, which has no technical basis for distinguishing between valid and fraudulent claims, areas in which the Federal Trade Commission and the Post Office have been authorized by Congress to act. And Weeks failed at that time—or, for that matter, since then—to allude to his letter to Wilson on the fuse program or to confirm or deny the report on his relationships with American Machine & Foundry. It should not be surprising, however, that attempts to take over such programs are made, for they too spell major sums of money. As defense funds are cut, it is only natural that every effort will be made to take over programs that ought, in the best interests of the nation, to remain where they are. It will also be natural that small- and medium-sized business will find the struggle for defense production tougher.

Meanwhile, on the economy front, the House has reported out its appropriations bill. The basic research funds for the National Bureau of Standards, on the decline over the last few years, have been cut 20 percent—from $8.6 million to $7 million. It is these funds which are used to develop the basic standards of science and measurements methods and instruments as well as the related studies of the properties of materials. These activities affect every business, industry, scientific institution and citizen. From the reading on the clinical thermometer in the patient's mouth to the magnetic moment of the proton, the results of this program are critical in current operations within our economy and as a base for future scientific progress. Perhaps, however, the Senate will restore some or all of these funds.

And so the second act of Weeks' drama—commencing with his temporary restoration of Dr. Astin to the directorship—has developed aspects of a circus. In one ring, the Kelly Committee has begun its general review of the Bureau's operations. In another ring, the Visiting Committee is supposed to be choosing a panel of names from which Weeks will select the new director. Another ring shows little action: the committee of the National Academy of Sciences to review AD-X2 remains unchosen. The rumor is that Weeks has failed to make the request formally to Dr. Bronk, president of the Academy, that Bronk won't act unless Weeks does so, and that Weeks is dragging his heels. In the fourth ring Wilson and Kyes stand with their order that threatens the entire defense research program of the Bureau, while at the periphery of this ring there waltz by the figures of Weeks and Patterson—in their corporate embodiments, United Carr Fastener plus Reed & Barton and American Machine & Foundry.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A DULLES PLAN FOR THE MIDDLE EAST?

by Tom Fitzsimmons

SECRETARY John Foster Dulles is in the Middle East—and with reason. The situation there is "precarious," to quote Dulles' testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and the "drift is dangerously unfavorable to us." How can we improve the situation and check the drift? Dulles thought we might spend "perhaps a little bit more" to provide minimum armament in the area.

Now, seeking to establish the details of a new Middle East policy, Dulles, together with Mutual Security Director Harold E. Stassen, will visit 12 countries in 20 days. The pace is not too important because the basic thinking for the new policy was done long before Dulles embarked. It was done by a man who died in 1949—James Forrestal, first US Secretary of Defense.

Constantly emphasizing the "overriding importance of access to Middle East oil reserves," Forrestal insisted throughout a period of intense domestic demand for US support of an independent Jewish State in Palestine that it would be "stupid" to allow the situation to develop so as to do "permanent injury to our relations with the Moslem world." But since 1948 the US has been forced to choose between emphasizing aid to and co-operation with Israel or the Arab nations; for a number of reasons the emphasis has so far been on Israel. Now, it seems, the US will act on the Forrestal thesis and concentrate on winning the Moslem States.

The stakes are staggering. In the Middle East the Free World stands to win or lose the political orientation of 60 million people, control of the strategic approaches to three continents, and access to fully one-half of the world's known oil reserves.

The Free World needs oil—the US consumes its entire production and Europe imports three million barrels a day to meet only her present, minimum needs—and wants to win the strategic and political stakes. So the new Administration seems determined on an effort to secure the *entire* Middle East against Communist domination. And, because Israel's dependence upon the West is expected to force her to behave more reasonably than Moslem nations which recognize no such dependence, because Russia's anti-Zionism is seen as eliminating in Israel the threat of Communist orientation still so severe in the Moslem world, that effort will aim initially at winning the friendship of the Arab nations and of Iran. If Arab and Iranian friendship, or even co-operation, can be won, say the new policy-makers, a long step will have been made toward attaining an Arab-Israeli peace—necessary to a Middle East Defense Command.

Such is the new policy. What it implies in terms of action can only be realized if we first understand the problems it must resolve. These are of two kinds: military-strategic, and historical-political.

Militarily, the Middle East is a power vacuum which converts the border defenses of the Free World into another open-flank Maginot Line.

Of the Arab nations in the area, Egypt has the strongest force: some 60,000 men, a few hundred old planes, a small navy. Illiteracy and disease, common denominators among Arab peoples, everywhere limit available reserves; and the former frustrates transformation of Arab forces into armies using technical equipment.

Non-Arab Iran has about 135,000 fighting men. The Iranian enlisted man is tough; his training has been improved by the American Military Mission; but he lacks leadership and his morale and prestige have been damaged. Like the Arab nations, Iran has no industrial base to support a serious fighting force.

Israel, despite its size, is the strongest nation south of Turkey. She commands industry, good ports, a population of literate, technically apt Europeans, and at least 30,000 World War II veterans. Universal military training and reserve service make every able man and woman a potential soldier; but Israel lacks modern equipment.

Great Britain has stationed some 70,000 men at the huge Suez Canal base—50 square miles of first-class air-bases, workshops, repair depots, etc. She has airforces on Cyprus and in Iraq plus ground forces at Aden and throughout the Persian Gulf area.

An invader from the North would have to neutralize Turkey and strike through Iran. Russia reaches Iran on either side of the Caspian Sea. The Caucasus, west of the Caspian, is closer to the oil of Iran and Iraq, and to the Mediterranean ports and the Suez Canal; and, because of Baku, the Caucasus has two rail lines connecting with Stalingrad and the Russian heartland. Considerable Russian air and ground forces are grouped here, but the region comprises some of the most rugged mountain terrain in the world. More, penetration to the interior of Iran is blocked by the formidable Elburz range and exit from Iran to the oil-fields of Iraq and to the Mediterranean ports is sealed by the Zagros Mountains. The terrain beyond is wide-open desert and steppe all the way west and south. But there are only half a dozen passes through either range.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not only are these passes in themselves a serious hindrance to the supply and reinforcement of an expeditionary force, they are also in the worse way susceptible to crippling air-attack. All are essential to an invader, for once out of Iran he would need be supplied with everything from bread to heavy road-building equipment.

After Iran's mountains there is not another natural defense line until the narrow Sinai peninsula—the only land bridge to the wealth of Africa and to the Suez Canal. So Iran and Egypt emerge as the anchor points upon which defense of the Middle East must be based. The Suez Canal, aside from being a 5,000 mile short-cut in England's life-line and essential to the French effort in Indo-China, is the major supporting base for military action in both the Middle East and the Balkans. Even if Iran's mountains, and with them one-half of the world's oil reserves, were lost, the Suez Canal base would have to be defended. Development of a substitute base in the Balkans would require years.

Yet neither Iran nor Egypt has strength. Nor have any of the nations between them. That is why Israel, emphasizing her position athwart the Sinai peninsula and on the flank of the invasion route, has demanded she be armed regardless of Arab feelings. But the new Administration seems to believe there is no immediate military threat. Given the difficulty of setting up an adequate jumping-off base and supply depot in the rugged Caucasus 700 miles from Stalingrad and 1,200 miles from Moscow, plus the logistical difficulties presented by Iran's mountains, Russia, it is felt, will not commit strong forces in the Middle East and risk a counter-attack in Europe. Another world war would undoubtedly see Russia moving into Iraq and Syria to set up a radar screen for Baku, but barring war Russia is expected to keep out and to depend upon local Communist parties to gain control of the area. Recent Russian policy, both foreign and domestic, supports this view. The Administration's assumption is that difficulties of transportation will dissuade a Russian invasion of the Middle East just to get oil for herself. The risk is that Russia, if the local parties don't show results, will move to deny us the oil.

The gamble decided upon, the situation as we have examined it would indicate that the new Administration's approach will mean (1) that Israel's strategic location and strength will assure her some aid, but not all she will want, and (2) that we shall direct our main energies toward winning and strengthening Iran and Egypt.

In addition to military problems, the attempt to ally Iran and Egypt with the West will meet political problems of an almost frightening complexity.

Egypt is Arab; Iran is not. But both are Moslem and the Arab world is the spiritual home of the Moslem.

The Arab world has 5,000 years of history. In its golden age it was united under Damascus, but in 1401 Damascus was destroyed and the "long sleep" began. Before it went to sleep the Arab world formed its impression of the West: As Europe emerged from the Dark Ages, Europeans turned to the libraries and schools of Islam. The resulting impression of Western barbarism was confirmed by the Crusades; Napoleon's Army of the Nile transformed the impression into a wound, and Western imperialism caused the wound to fester.

Today Moslem reactions throughout the Middle East are to some degree infected with this history. The leader is concerned with protecting his people from the West, and among his people xenophobia has become a spiritual value.

Besides suspicion, resentment, fear and, often, hatred of the West, the history of the area fashions another hindrance to alliance with the Free World: In creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization we had only to supply money, material and an occasional idea. Western Europe's millions largely shared a tradition of rule by consent and of group responsibility. The people of the Middle East have never experienced democratic rule and rarely does their sense of identification and responsibility extend beyond the family. Europe provided scores of energetic leaders who shared the democratic ideal and who saw Russia as their ideological enemy. In the Middle East the idea of democracy has not been intellectually respectable since the Thirties. More, the United States and the United Nations have become identified with the imperial policies of Europe. For many, this suspicion was confirmed by the Tunisian, Moroccan and Palestinian issues. After 150 years of Western penetration, they see Israel as the final phase of imperialism—the coming of the West physically into the Middle East.

Russia, although known, feared and, by some, hated in Iran, is virtually unknown to the Arabs. And Communists in Arab states, though few, are active. They have compressed the entire Communist dogma into the one word which expresses the most universal desire among Moslems—"change." Armed by the word and, for a time at least, by Russia's anti-Zionism, they seek to penetrate every nationalist movement. They point to the 50 million Moslems living "happily" under Communism to prove the teachings of Marx and of Mohammed reconcilable. They equate democracy with the status-quo and describe the Point Four program as a support for corrupt regimes. They concentrate on convincing everyone that all they ask is to help "throw out the foreigner." And time has so far been on their side. In Iran they are already strong.

The Tudeh (Communist) Party of Iran has but a few

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thousand disciplined hard-core members. But already it can count some 40,000 adherents. Its goal is chaos, and it tries to use all who are out of power.

Chief among these last is Ayatollah Kashani, president of the Majlis (Parliament) and a religious as well as a political leader. Long anti-British, he is popular. He liked the Nazis and thinks he can use the Tudeh.

The balance of the opposition seems to have grouped behind General Fazallah Zahedi, a former Senator and the Minister of Interior in Premier Mohammed Mossadegh's first cabinet. He will probably make a bid for power soon; his success will depend on Kashani. He was jailed for pro-Nazi activity during the war and, while he claims to be anti-Communist, the forces behind him have always been ready to join with the Tudeh for political advantage. While the opposition thinks it can use the Tudeh, the Tudeh knows it can benefit from the dangerous viciousness which now characterizes Iranian politics. The Army has already become a political pawn, its prestige and morale lowered to a point where sufficient Tudeh infiltration to guarantee a coup is possible.

It must be remembered that 90 percent of the rural populace of Iran is landless; it would be easy, then, to distribute prizes enough to ensure passive co-operation from villagers who have never known rule by consent. More, Iran depends upon a few areas such as the Caspian littoral for its food; seizure of power is thereby simplified.

Since oil nationalization two years ago, only her primitive economy has prevented economic collapse in Iran—most Iranians benefited so little from oil revenue that its loss has barely affected them. Yet over one-third of Iran's national income and two-thirds of her foreign exchange have disappeared. And the resulting constant threat of collapse plus the frustration of social-improvement plans has led to an increase in the bitterness of anti-British (read "Western") feeling, and in both the power of the Tudeh and its opportunities for action.

The only long-term defense against Communism in Iran is an economy based on oil-revenue and supporting a rising standard of living. But the latest British formula for settling the oil dispute has been rejected. For a time no new offer will be made. The US and England apparently hope for a new leader more pliable than Mossadegh. But any Iranian leader comes to these negotiations under severe handicap—any commitment subject to interpretation as "selling out to" or being "taken in by" the British would be political suicide.

In Egypt the Communists are not yet strong, and Premier Mohammed Naguib's enemies are, for the moment, cowed. But Premier Naguib shares his power with a military junta which either subscribes to or will not openly challenge popular anti-Western sentiment.

Abandoning past Egyptian claims on the Sudan, Naguib signed a very reasonable agreement with the British, but he immediately set out to convince his people that he had not been too reasonable. Similarly, he has taken a tough attitude toward the forthcoming Suez Canal talks: knowing the British must have a guarantee, he insists Egypt will not consider participation in a defense organization until the Canal Zone has been evacuated.

The point that is now at issue in the Suez talks is this: Essentially an administrative base for maintenance and repair, Suez requires large numbers of technicians which Egypt cannot supply for years to come.

For both economic and military reasons, this base, its maintenance and defense, is extremely important to Egypt; its installations are the means by which a quarter of a million men can be launched across the desert to stop an enemy; Tel-el-Kebir, biggest ordnance depot in the world, can alone supply work for 14,000 laborers.

All this is known to Naguib. But he also knows how enormously his already high prestige with his people will grow if he can achieve British evacuation soon. His slogan in the country is "evacuation or death"; but the possibility of obtaining quick evacuation is a lure to co-operation with the West. Yet he must always take care not to get too far ahead of public sentiment; he has enemies.

A "Forrestal policy" of guaranteeing access to Middle East oil reserves by winning the Moslem nations, then, will meet military facts which negate any hope of shaping strong Arab armies in the near future, strategic facts which emphasize Iran and Egypt, and political facts which indicate a central paradox that policy must recognize. In both Iran and Iraq the apathy of centuries has been burned away by a fierce nationalism fed by resentment of Western imperialism. That emotional force is both the source of and the severest limitation upon the power of a leader. Only by maintaining the force strong and cohesive can he bring his people into the twentieth century; only through alliance with an industrial bloc can he bring the twentieth century to his people. He must do both. But if he turns to the West the national sentiment he must maintain will oppose the alliance he must cement.

Only a strong, trusted leader, then, one first convinced of our honesty, then that alliance with the Free World will bring concrete, practical and often immediate benefits with which he can reassure his people, will dare the accusations of enemies to join with the West. And any policy which seeks to guarantee "access to Middle East oil reserves" must, to show results, be informed by this central paradox.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HOW "McCARTHY" WAS WHIPPED IN 1800

by Irving Brant

COMMENTING on Sen. Joe McCarthy's brow-beating inquisition of Editor James Wechsler, the *New Republic* said editorially last week that this was an attack on freedom of the press unmatched since 1800, when the United States Senate tried to send Editor William Duane to prison for seditious libel of that body. There is in fact an amazing repetition of history, not only in these two incidents, but in the larger pattern of terrorism into which they fit.

The prosecution of Duane marked the climax of a campaign of oppression having its emotional origin in the fears engendered by the French Revolution, but devoted to the ends of American politics. The attempt to besmirch and intimidate Wechsler is part of a similar campaign, utilizing the fears aroused by the Russian Revolution, but devoted also to political ends.

Compared with the skilled techniques of macarthyism, the methods of oppression employed in 1800 were open and obvious. Nevertheless, the McCarthys of that day had the full weight of government behind them. If American editors had not fought back, and if the American people had not rallied to defend their own liberties, they would have started the nineteenth century with a preview of the kind of freedom of opinion found 15 years ago in Germany and Italy, found today in Soviet Russia, China, Spain and Argentina, and threatened for 1957 in the United States.

The Duane case did not start in 1800, nor the Wechsler case in 1953. Each one had its origin years earlier, partially because men with good motives (President Washington in one instance, President Truman in the other) took some actions without realizing what they would lead to.

In 1794, when the word "Democratic" inspired some of the horror that "Communist" does today, a lot of American citizens defied that feeling by organizing the so-called Democratic Societies.

In that same year, some of these societies expressed sympathy for the farmers of western Pennsylvania, who had just taken up their pitchforks and squirrel guns and run the federal revenue collectors out of the mountains. Thereupon, President Washington was persuaded by men who knew what they were after to put the following sentence into the part of his annual message dealing with the Whisky Rebellion: "Certain self-created societies assumed the tone of condemnation."

Coming from Washington, those few words had all the force of the list of subversive organizations put out by direction of Truman. Hysterical citizens denounced the societies.

"The game was," wrote James Madison, "to connect the Democratic societies with the odium of the insurrection—to connect the Republicans in Congress with those societies."

In Congress, a resolution was introduced condemning the societies. Every man now in that body, and every editor and radio commentator, ought to read the debate that ensued. They will find these statements made in opposition by the "father of the Constitution":

"An action innocent in the eyes of the law could not be the object of censure to a legislative body."

"Opinions are not the objects of legislation."

"How far will this go? It may extend to the liberty of speech, and of the press."

"It is in vain to say that this indiscriminate censure is no punishment."

"Is not this proposition, if voted, a bill of attainder?"

Then came an assertion which compresses the Declaration of Independence and the principles of the Constitution into one sentence:

"If we advert to the nature of republican government we shall find that the censorial power is in the people over the government, and not in the government over the people."

What does that leave of macarthyism? What does it leave of Communism and Fascism? If the newspaper editors of America will adopt that as a living text, they will make their own freedom that of the whole people, and that of the people their own.

Well, in 1794, a Congress which hated the Democratic Societies voted down the motion to censure them. Don't get the idea that our good old reactionary forefathers subordinated their emotions to constitutional principles. They were scared—afraid to face the voters. Does that diminish the significance of the action? Not at all. When you say that a Congressman is scared, it's just another way of saying that the censorial power is in the people over the government.

Unfortunately President Washington's "subversive list," like Truman's, went on breeding distrust. Imperialism reared its head in the French Revolution, as in the Russian. Fear spread among American conservatives—fear expressed in terms of Jacobinism (French Communism), but actually concerned with the danger of electing Thomas Jefferson President and turning the country over to a rag-tag and bobtail democracy.

Irving Brant is now completing the fourth and next to the last volume of his Life of Madison, which will be published in the fall.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That brought on the alien and sedition laws of 1798. The Sedition Act was written to expire on March 3, 1801—the last day of the Presidency of John Adams. The purpose of it was plainly described by Sen. S. T. Mason of Virginia in 1800, though you won't find this in any school history:

"The most vigorous and undisguised efforts are making to crush the Republican [*i.e.* Democratic] presses and stifle free enquiry as it may respect the ensuing election of President and Vice-President."

What was it Madison asked when Congress started to criticize private citizens? Just what American editors should have asked when macarthyism first got under way:

"How far will this go? It may extend to the liberty of speech, and of the press."

Senator Mason listed some of the newspapermen who fell victim to the Sedition Act in the spring of 1800:

Publisher Holt of the New London *Bee*—three months in prison and a fine of $200.

A New York printer (unnamed) fined and imprisoned.

A Vermont publisher, Haswell, indicted for reprinting a letter from a dismissed cabinet member, already published in a Federalist newspaper.

Thomas Cooper, Pennsylvania publisher and lawyer —six months in prison and a $400 fine for printing an editorial saying that President Adams had been guilty of "a stretch of power which the monarch of Great Britain would have shrunk from."

A year earlier, Senator Mason had ridden to Vermont with $1,000 in his saddlebags to pay the fine of Congressman Matthew Lyon, who spent four months in prison for writing that President Adams was fit for a madhouse. Lyon, re-elected while in jail, had ridden back to the capital at the head of a constantly changing procession of "subversives" 12 miles long at times.

That increased the Federalist desperation. Here is what Mason said about the later trial of Cooper:

"A more oppressive and disgusting proceeding I never saw. [Justice] Chase in his charge to the jury (in a speech of an hour) showed all the zeal of a well-fee'd lawyer and the rancor of a vindictive and implacable enemy."

Chase, a Supreme Court Justice who rode circuit and tried criminal cases, came about as close as anybody to being the McCarthy of his period. He presided over more outrageous trials than any other judge, shot off his mouth in demagogic court harangues, and finally (after the tide turned) was saved by the two-thirds rule when impeached for telling a Maryland grand jury, in effect, that there were 205 card-carrying Communists in the government of that state. (Yes, he was intervening in an election.)

Thomas Cooper was the Wechsler of 1800. Like McCarthy's pretended concern over Wechsler's books in USIS libraries, Chase's prosecution of Cooper for the remark about President Adams was mere pretext. Everybody knew Editor Cooper's crime. *As a lawyer,* he had defended William Duane against the charge of seditious libel brought by the United States Senate—just as Wechsler, as editor of the New York *Post,* defended the victims of McCarthy's tyrannical assaults.

What was this Duane case, whose outrageousness marked the beginning of the end for the assailants of a free press in 1800? Duane charged in his Philadelphia *Aurora* that a bill sponsored by Senator Ross of Pennsylvania, and supported in a Senatorial caucus, was designed to disfranchise that state in the Presidential election. Infuriated because this publicity killed the scheme, the Senate ordered Duane to appear before it and show why that body (no monkeying with courts) should not punish him for publishing this "false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious" article.

Duane appeared and demanded counsel. He was given that right, with a restriction forbidding his lawyers to discuss the constitutionality of the Senate's actions. The lawyers, Cooper and A. J. Dallas, notified the Senate that they would not appear if so restricted. Duane likewise refused. The Senate declared him in contempt and ordered the Sergeant-at-Arms to arrest him. The Sergeant closed one eye and couldn't find him. The Senate, about to adjourn, asked President Adams to prosecute him—under the common law of England, the debate indicated.

Adams secured his indictment for seditious libel—a common-law crime unknown to the Constitution—but the trial went over until the Sedition Act boys were knocked for a double loop in the Presidential election. President Jefferson appointed Duane's lawyer, Dallas, as district attorney, and told him to drop the indictment as unconstitutional. To ease the blow to Senatorial pride, Dallas was told either to prosecute under some state law or report that there was none. He so reported.

Committees of Congress now get around the Constitution by punishing through inquisition and publicity—bills of attainder, Madison called this process. From the Oxnams to the Wechslers, from the Wechslers to the Sulzbergers, from Wisconsin to the White House—it's all in the line of march for a resourceful man who faces individual heroism and collective cowardice along the road to despotism.

Duane, Cooper and Dallas halted the McCarthys of 1800, and the people administered the knock-out blow. Once courage becomes collective, as it was in 1800 both in press and politics, the venomous dragon of macarthyism will shrink to a small and toothless viper.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE HARD UNPARTISAN THOUGHT

by William O. Douglas

THE PRESIDENTIAL campaign of 1952 has become history; and the speeches made by President Eisenhower and Governor Stevenson are now state papers. This volume of the major campaign speeches of Governor Stevenson is therefore an important historical document.

The essays printed here have more than partisan interest; they will endure through the years as a vital part of our Americana. They point up the citizen's role in his government—be he farmer, laborer, banker, or government official. In this political campaign Governor Stevenson raised the honor and nobility of politics. He demonstrated in a high-minded manner that a man running for public office need not be a "politician" in the parochial sense. He put into English as eloquent and precise as Woodrow Wilson's a conception of government and a standard of citizenship that will endure as long as the American ideal.

MAJOR CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF 1952, by Adlai E. Stevenson (Random House; $3.50).

In his speech at St. Louis on the "Proper Role of Government," he stated three duties of government:

> First, government is an umpire, denying special privilege, ensuring equal rights, restraining monopoly and greed and bigotry, making sure that the game is played according to the rules. . . .
>
> Second, government has the duty of creating an economic climate in which creative men can take risks and reap rewards, so that our economic life will have a continuous flow of fresh ideas and fresh leadership; and, of course, it means the building of solid defenses against the greatest threat to that flow—depression. . . .
>
> Third, government has the duty of helping the people develop their country.

In Los Angeles speaking on the "American Future," Governor Stevenson restated the American faith in an economic system based on freedom of choice; and he wrote an eloquent article of faith that freedom of decision is more productive and creative than any system devised by man.

Governor Stevenson, with a long view of history, emphasized that the contest between freedom and despotism is renewed in every generation, that if that contest is to be conducted by peaceful means, "negotiation and adjustment—compromise but not appeasement"—will be necessary. This attitude is most urgent for our dealings with Asia. If we really believe in the principle that men are the masters of their fate, then we commit ourselves to the idea that they must have the right to experiment, to devise new institutions, and to discard old ones. This philosophy of Governor Stevenson is in the Wilsonian tradition.

The countries of Asia are indeed experimenting. Asia, though largely rejecting the capitalism she has known, has not rejected the principles of the rights of man and the self-determination of peoples. If we are to have allies against Communism in Asia, we must understand her nationalist movements and give them our sympathy and support.

This points up a heartening and sobering impression from these speeches. They leave an indelible image of a man embarked on the most partisan of ventures repeatedly driving home the necessity that America face up to some very unpartisan facts. The hard truth is that Europe is war-weary and insecure. Asia is in revolt against a system that long held her millions in bondage and that left her with problems almost insoluble. And over the unrest and uncertainty lurks the shadow of Soviet imperialism.

Truly, as Stevenson said at San Francisco, "America is called to greatness." And it is a call that demands the bold thought and courageous deed, the will to stem the spread of Communism and yet to avoid a third world war. We, a people famed for our rugged impetuosity, must now prove our mettle by using our power "responsibly, patiently, persistently."

But as Governor Stevenson points out, many have drifted to the awful conclusion that free government has reached the end of its rope. The Governor rejects that defeatist attitude. When human welfare is sacrificed for the benefit of a few—when we counsel despair and conclude that the parliamentary system is too slow, too cumbersome, too expensive, then alone can Communism flourish.

In short, the speeches are a moving exposition of our philosophy that government is designed to ensure the "domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

These speeches were made to the people of America—to the voters to gain their assent. But they will live when the campaign has long been forgotten. They will serve as a constant reminder to *all* Americans that " . . . while we are true to ourselves, we can never be defeated; while we accept the honorable burden of leadership, we can never be divided." And finally, "in the name of that burden we shall find the means and the determination to spend in money and in labor and in hard thought whatever is needed to save ourselves and our world."

WHICH BLUE YONDER?

WINGS FOR PEACE, by Bonner Fellers (Regnery; $3.50).

GENERAL FELLERS in his new book presents an eloquent case for making strategic air power the main reliance of our national defense. The opening sections consist in large part of fairly straightforward and intelligent argument in favor of an expansion of our strategic air wing. In these sections, General Fellers seems to me to make pretty good sense. But, as a good fighting airman, he has

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the reckless courage of his convictions; and, instead of playing safe with unexceptionable generalities about strategic air power, he concludes by soaring into the wild blue yonder and laying down his own plan for national security. Here he reveals that he favors, not just enlarging our strategic air power within the present frame of defense, but drastically revising our defense theories and placing all our eggs in the strategic air power basket.

The Fellers plan for American defense is this: (1) the reduction of our defense budget to $40 billion, of which $27 billion would go to the Air Force (to provide 250 groups) and the remaining $13 billion would go to the Army and Navy *combined;* (2) reduction of the Army to 10 divisions; (3) no further naval construction; (4) reduction of defense personnel by 900,000 (to 2.7 million); (5) spending for weapons development *and* foreign aid to be held to $5 billion; (6) stepped-up psychological warfare; (7) our European allies to be regarded as no longer necessary (let Europe "create such European armies as are within her capabilities" but "Europeans should stop looking to the United States for dollar aid" and should have an "armament burden only as heavy as they themselves impose.") Such a plan, he adds, would enable us to reduce taxes, balance the budget, forget Universal Military Training and probably the draft also—all this security, in short, and heaven too.

The effect of this policy, it is easy to see, would be to commit the United States to an all-or-nothing strategy; it would enable us to cope only with total war launched by the Soviet Union, and nothing short of that. It would perhaps defend us against all-out Russian aggression, but it would give us no weapon except preventive total war against the satellite aggression which has been the characteristic tactic of Soviet expansionism in the last half dozen years. It would therefore probably encourage the Soviet Union to risk local satellite aggression in all areas in which Moscow had good reason to think that we would not or could not respond by launching total atomic war against the Soviet Union itself. In short, it would return our defense posture to somewhat the position it occupied in June, 1950 (though Louis Johnson only reduced our Army then to 10.5 divisions). Surely one factor leading to the smash-and-grab operation in Korea was the Soviet conviction that we would not respond by atomic war and, given the posture of our defense, could not respond in any other way.

The typical situation we have faced—and will probably continue to face—is not the third world war, but a succession of frontier wars. Suppose there should be local aggression in Burma, India, Iran, Turkey, Yugoslavia? What would the strategic air power advocates do? Or what do they propose in Korea? Strategic air power has not won the Korean War; as Major de Seversky has frankly said, strategic air power "does not enter into the Korean equation. This force is not designed to fight land wars in small and backward countries." And it could "win" the Korean War only by destroying the sources of North Korean war-making capacity which, as Major de Seversky admits, lie in Manchuria and Russia. The same is true in Indo-China.

Strategic air power, in short, commits us to maximum force or nothing. It leaves us the choice between thumbing our nose and blowing up the world. It is hopelessly unsuited for the challenge of a prolonged Cold War. We can meet this challenge only by developing armed strength in sufficient size and variety to enable us to meet the whole spectrum of threats short of total war.

It is hardly necessary to deal with the practical irrelevance of the Feller proposals in a day when President Eisenhower, who apparently did not serve under Louis Johnson for nothing, proposes to cut our Air Force from the Truman-Finletter goal of 143 groups to 110 groups, and when the B-52, the key instrument of strategic bombing, is not even in serious production. But a word of caution should perhaps be added about the danger, in any case, of investing our total safety in a weapon which may soon be neutralized by Soviet improvements in jet fighters, in rockets and in guided missiles.

This slight enumeration of problems suggests the complexity of the issues of national defense. It would suggest too the terrific dangers which must therefore accompany any serious reduction of our military budget—dangers not just to our physical security, but equally important, to the force and flexibility of our foreign policy.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

IN GENTEEL TRADITIONS

THE ENORMOUS RADIO AND OTHER STORIES, by John Cheever (Funk and Wagnall's; $3.50). NINE STORIES, by J. D. Salinger (Little, Brown; $3).

BOTH THESE WRITERS are *New Yorker* authors. It is fashionable, I gather, to be a little superior to the *New Yorker* story, and no one would want to maintain that making a living writing for *The New Yorker* would in the long run be the best thing that could happen to a talented man like Mr. Salinger. But I suspect *The New Yorker's* standards are better than we admit; they set high requirements of observation, understanding, and composition. If their limitations on subject matter are in the long run dangerous to real talent, they nonetheless provide a stiff course in the craft.

Mr. Cheever, for example, is not a writer of any great talent, but the stories in his book are all skillfully worked out and loaded with carefully observed manners. Congreve, who might, for a while at least, have been a great success in *The New Yorker,* once remarked that he selected a moral and then designed a fable to fit it. It seems unlikely, though great works have been written in even queerer ways than that. It is the glaring fault of Mr. Cheever's stories that they all appear to have been produced in that way. He does not so much imagine experience as have clever ideas for stories. There are the ingenious camera-angles, the elevator operators (two of these) and the apartment-house superintendents, very cute and innocent and staring wide-eyed at quality folk. There are the neat discoveries of commonplace morals in sophisticated lives. When Mr. Cheever tries for the big idea, his stories waver toward a formally — and therefore morally — ambiguous melodrama, as in "Torch Song" where a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

girl who appears, magically, never to grow old (shades of Dorian Gray) turns out to love dying people, or in "O City of Broken Dreams," where a pair of hicks who are said to be from Indiana but are really from Ring-Lardner-land are fantastically diddled by blasé theatrical people. These are the stories of a clever short-story manufacturer, a man who has ideas about experience but has never known these ideas in experience. Their language and technique are highly refined; their feeling is crude. They are as well-made as any conscientious editor could demand; you cannot blame the doctor for their having been born with a very minimum of vitality.

Mr. Salinger is an altogether different matter. For all the prejudices against short stories, his *Nine Stories* has made the best-seller lists. This is—as things so seldom are—as it ought to be for Mr. Salinger is a talented writer. Even if this success is a mere by-product of *The Catcher in the Rye,* it is rough justice; for all its brilliance, *The Catcher in the Rye* does not quite come off as a whole; the best of these stories do. They have, as the novel did not, a controlling intention which is at once complex enough for Mr. Salinger's awareness and firm enough to give it a purpose. You suspect that the hovering presence, if not the actual blue pencil of a *New Yorker* editor had something to do with this, for the controlling intention is obviously the most difficult part of a story for Mr. Salinger, so that when he is not at his best he substitutes for it brilliant detail, as in *The Catcher in the Rye,* or a plot trick, as at the end of "Teddy." In fact, though it is a dangerous, perhaps even impertinent speculation, I would guess that Mr. Salinger's special gift for off-center visions of experience comes from a kind of displacement of the imagination which makes it particularly difficult for him to conceive any unifying intention. The price he pays for his training is the occasional trick story, like "Pretty Mouth and Green My Eyes." Even the gimmicks are with Mr. Salinger hair-raising, however, and this story gives its trick an extra Charles Addams twist at the end. In the best stories, where Mr. Salinger's talent remains unfrustrated, the discipline imposed by writing for *The New Yorker* is sheer gain; "A Perfect Day for Bananafish," "De Daumier-Smith's Blue Period," and large units of several other stories are better than anything in *The Catcher in the Rye.* It would be hard to say with them whether the wonderful detail or the way this detail is subordinated to the central insight is the more impressive. Perhaps the best thing about these stories is that though you feel the pleasure of both they do not separate in your mind.

ARTHUR MIZENER

WHAT'S IN A MAN

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT. by Christopher Burney, foreword by Christopher Fry (Coward-McCann; $2.75).

THE FACT that this is the narrative of eighteen months' imprisonment by the Nazis, or that it includes the brutal adjuncts to Nazi methods of interrogation, is relevant but not essential to the story. In the words of the publishers, "any other solitude, so long as it was dangerous, would have done as well." What Mr. Burney has given us is an awesome account of what happens to a human being, body, mind and spirit, during an extended solitary confinement which he expects to end in madness or death.

Sent to Occupied France by the British, on a secret mission which involved carefully concealed co-operation with other agents, Mr. Burney is captured by the Nazis and his first concern is the protection of his confederates. Knowing that his account of his activities will not be believed, and fearing what will happen when he breaks down under torture, he spends his first days fabricating two stories, the first to be given when he is initially interrogated, the second as a retreat when the first has been demolished. He tries to live himself into these fabrications as though they were what really happened, and to anticipate the course of his interrogation.

But he doubts his success. This is the beginning of his long continued moral conflict. He hopes but is not sure that he will protect his friends. Courage and cowardice seem to balance evenly and, in addition, there is the terrifying question as to whether he will be in moral control of his mind when he is subjected to torture or the threat of it. The issue, when first raised, seemed to be one of manliness and duty, though qualified by the doubt as to whether such concepts would have any reality if the Nazi torturers could trample down his essential humanity. Almost at once, however, the issue broadened and Mr. Burney found himself face to face with ultimate meanings. He was no longer a living part of society, responding in meaningful ways to societal situations. His social self, the organized personality of one whose life is interactive with the life of others, to

Now Published!

Harry Stack Sullivan, M. D.

THE INTERPERSONAL THEORY OF PSYCHIATRY

This book provides the first systematic presentation of Dr. Sullivan's final theories on the relation of social factors to mental health and mental disease. He was one of the first psychiatrists to recognize that no individual can be studied as an isolated organism, but only in the total context of his environment. Now, as he traces the development of the person from infancy to adulthood and explains his conclusions on mental disorder in later life, he presents a comprehensive frame of reference for the science of interpersonal relations. $5.00

At all bookstores

AND

CONCEPTIONS OF MODERN PSYCHIATRY

$4.00 Now published by

W. W. NORTON and CO.

101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.

Write for free catalogue of Norton "Books that Live" in Psychiatry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which it contributes and receives in turn its nurture, was gradually displaced by a solitary and rudimentary self which is unable to resolve or act in societal ways but becomes preoccupied with intense inquiry into the introspective recesses of the life of the individual and the possibility of its correlation with the finalities of good and evil, if there be such, and its relationship to ultimate meanings in the basic realities of the universe or to a conjectural God.

Expecting to be shot, and perhaps without much warning, the solitary prisoner must try to face the fact of death with no other resource than his inner discourse. But he discovers that death can be imagined only in the case of others, or of oneself as though one were a spectator and therefore living still—one who sees his body fall to the ground but cannot *feel* himself fall. How can one imagine a transition into nothingness? Or if it be a transition into another state of life, how can it be pictured? And in this further state of life, if such there be, what is the consequence of one's wrong-doing and particularly of betrayal or cowardice?

The question of sanity is inevitably raised. But by what norm can sanity be judged in solitary confinement? It is society that sets the norms but are they pertinent to a nonsocial situation? Day by day, week by week, month by month, alone with oneself, the solitary person becomes a changed and unfamiliar being. Yet this may be the being he always was beneath his socially conditioned individual awareness. Moral and emotional force attaches itself to new objects. There is a daily struggle, involving conscience in concentrated fury, as to whether to eat the bread with the soup and be hungry and therefore sleepless at night, or save the bread to ease the pangs of emptiness, and hence improve the chance of sleep. Sometimes one saves the bread—but sometimes not. Then comes the terrible guilt, exaggerating this trifling dereliction into total, abject failure. But is it trifling? How can one know unless he has experienced solitary confinement?

The remarkable character of this book, the nakedness of its author's self-disclosure, the skill with which the impossible task of transmitting the incommunicable is attempted, its unfamiliar categories, amount in all to an experience which defies description and frustrates evaluation. No one is equipped to say much about it who has not shared its author's grim encounter with a solitude which, "with its mysteries and adventures," passed over him "like a wave and washed back into the spreading ocean of the past, while the next sea, cold and clamorous, already mounted."

A. POWELL DAVIES

ST. GEORGE AS POET

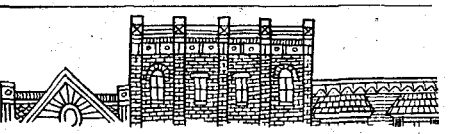
THE AGE OF THE DRAGON: POEMS 1930-1951, by John Lehmann (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

FOR MOST American readers, aware as they may be of John Lehmann the editor and critic, this selection of his verse will introduce a new poet. First, of course, they will notice the typical easy grace of language of so many English writers which strikes such despair into our hearts, however much we cherish the gritty base and difficult straining of so much of our own finest work. And after that first pang, there will be another recognition, of warm bright sunlight filtering through orchard branches on remembered scenes of a rural childhood that became the touchstones of ultimate value in poems on many different themes.

The gently but precisely molded closed couplets of "River Garden," the first of these poems, each preserve with loving nostalgia one concrete element of an inviolable memory out of which an ideal moment of peace, meaning, and security has been projected. There are many such pictures in this volume. Sometimes they stand by themselves, needing no support. Sometimes they lend perspective, as when they are glimpsed as images of that against which death and time conspire, as the background of love and friendship and happy labor, or in contrast to everything that war and a machine-civilization represent. Folksong and folk-legendry, the small country cottage and the great country house, are in the same cluster of associations at whose heart, again and again, we find the sunlit trees of a child's memory. When, for instance, in one of his prose poems Mr. Lehmann symbolizes a culture attacked by the destructive spirit torn from its mooring, we see first not a dead body but trees that are wounded and bleeding.

Later in the poem, we see "a body" that "lies on the cobbles of an industrial city's suburb, covered with a stained green coat, and casts its shadow over these fields." Such an image, we are told, must be wrenched away from the mind as the gardener wrenches ivy away from crocus bulbs. Even in the Audenesque pieces of the later mid-Thirties, when the poet is experimenting with the imagery of exile and voyaging and responding to the specific tensions of Europe under the pressures of depression and fascism, we find a poem like "The Marsh Way" defining his anchorage in the rural motivation, a little self-ironically perhaps but not unhappily.

These poems often struggle, after the manner of Thomas Hardy, with the question of ultimate belief in meaning; they are not as sternly antisentimental as Hardy, however, just as their tentative assertions of faith in continuity have not the forthright courage of Hardy's "In Time of 'The Breaking of Nations'."



IMPATIENT CRUSADER

Florence Kelley's LIFE STORY

By JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK

For over thirty years Florence Kelley battled for the industrial rights of women and children:

Minimum wages . . . child labor laws . . . industrial health control . . . shorter working hours.

Thanks in great measure to her unflagging zeal and courage these rights were secured during the mid-thirties, shortly after her death.

Here is the story of her life, as told by a close friend and associate with the help of Elizabeth Brandeis, whose father was one of Florence Kelley's staunchest supporters. Foreword by Felix Frankfurter. $3.50

order from your bookstore or

UP THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS AT URBANA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Especially in Lehmann's recent, more ambitious poems, there is a jamming up of motivations visible less in the general style than in the blurring of conclusions, as if the poet could not bring himself to push into the dilemmas he poses beyond a certain point. It is the "country" theme that he has just right.

The book also contains excellent translations from Chamson and other poets. It concludes with a very skillful eclogue written for radio production in which various questions concerning tradition, progress, and value are deftly and charmingly explored in pretty much the same major terms as we find in the shorter poems. Perhaps this final note suggests too much the editorial journalist to be so strategically placed in the volume; nevertheless, the total impression of this body of verse is of a calm, unpretentious appreciation of contemporary experience as well as of a disciplined musical craftsmanship.

M. L. ROSENTHAL

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.

Informal Adult Resort in the Adirondacks
Charming Estate — Limited to 90 — Pollen Free
Folk-Sq. Dances — Concert Trio — Dance Band
All Sports • Fishing • Arts & Crafts
BACHELOR CLUB RATE — FINE FOOD
N. Y. Office: 250 W. 57th • CIrcle 6-6386
Red. Rates to July 10 Louis A. Roth, Dir.

SUMMER CAMP

CO-ED CAMP—Intercultural Program. Partial subsidy permits substantial reduction in regular $550 fee. New York phone SLocum 6-9083 evenings and weekend. Write Box # 1, New Republic.

SUMMER RENTALS

If you like country quiet, woods and fields but modern conveniences hot and cold, try us. Reasonable summer rental, 135 miles N.Y.C., 18 Tanglewood, swimming nearby. Large studio living room, fireplace, bedroom, bath, kitchen; furnished. Box # 2, New Republic.

LITERARY AGENCY

WRITERS: An astute agent will do more than present manuscripts in routine fashion. He will recognize talent and create the opportunity to use it! Write for terms today! Mead Agency, 419 - 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

PERSONAL

DEPARTMENT STORE BLUES? Replenish your spring wardrobe at Miss Goodman's, "where the individual is important." Better dresses, suits, coats at sane prices. Expert alterations. Miss Goodman, 362 Lexington Avenue, near 41st Street. Murray Hill 5-0670.

MAGAZINE

"WHAT IS SEMANTICS?"—lead article in current issue of ETC., official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write ETC., Dept. 22, 539 W. North Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N. ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

WITHIN THIS WOODEN O

by Eric Bentley

SINCE THEATRE is a visual, not to say a spectacular, art, nothing is more remarkable than the way the appearance of a play changes from age to age. We are shocked to see Garrick (on the famous print) performing *Richard III* in 18th-century breeches and hose, yet we may ask whether Shakespeare would be less shocked to see Richard, as we nowadays do, in his habit as he lived. Would he not be shocked at the baroque stage of the 18th, the naturalistic stage of the 19th, centuries? Would he prefer the modest curtains and cut-outs of Granville Barker?

I do not mean these rhetorical questions to suggest that presenting Shakespeare on a non-Elizabethan stage is always a mistake. The theatre's responsibilities are to the present, not the past. Garrick was right. And we shall be right when we have found a theatre that belongs as fully to our time as his did to his. But who can say we *have* found it? What we must complain of in current Shakespeare productions is not that they are in a style we don't like but that they have no style at all—and any ideas and interpretations they may embody are only the bright ideas and cute interpretations of our subintelligentsia.

We have to go back and look at the Elizabethan stage because it is the beginning and we have to go back to the beginning. At the very least we can relearn from productions on an Elizabethan stage the ABC of Shakespearian stagecraft. And when we know what Shakespeare brought to the eyes of his public, we can decide to what extent the same things should be brought to the eyes of ours. Such innovations as are then resolved upon will be made deliberately. We shall have restored Shakespeare, and we shall have worked out step by step the problem of adapting him to our time. Our Shakespeare theatre will be a precision tool.

It was with all this in mind that I went out to see *Macbeth* on a replica of the Globe stage at Hofstra College. It was a most revealing production, and suggested even more than it revealed. I had seen the play several times before; each time the production had conformed pretty much with the visual image I had of it in my mind's eye, yet each time the play failed because, as I learned at Hofstra, the image we have of it is one it will not support. The *Macbeth* of our imaginations could perhaps be written by a Monk Lewis, staged by a Gordon Craig, or filmed in the manner of *Caligari*, but the *Macbeth* of Shakespeare demands, not murky corridors and pinpoints of moonshine, but diffused light and a large block of visible space embracing some seven playing areas. Someone said that the Hofstra production lacked suspense, and it occurred to me that suspense is the mess of pottage for which the Shakespearean birthright has been sold. Suspense drives everything else out of the mind and is therefore sorely needed by a playwright who has nothing else to offer. But if our minds are occupied with other things, the need for suspense is not felt. On the Elizabethan stage the intricate things Macbeth says can be actually presented to the audience instead of being swallowed up in darkness. Passages that in modern productions seem long-winded interruption and obscure irrelevance take their place on this stage as the drama itself. We forego the superficial excitements of the thriller to discover that, as we sit mildly watching, we are being more profoundly excited. Why is it that your ordinary modern *Macbeth* "falls off in the second part"? Because the crime story is over. The only kind of curiosity that has been aroused in us is satisfied as soon as Duncan is dead. The evening's play has been sacrificed in order that for thirty minutes or so Shakespeare might prove the equal of Agatha Christie.

We know a good deal about the Elizabethan stage from books. It is gratifying to find that its impact on the senses is even greater than the most informed student expects. We have read of the depth of this stage. It is actually less deep than many other stages. The *effect* of depth is the result of its shape and its relation to the auditorium, and is not only good to look at but useful in permitting the easy separation of one group of actors from another; the grouping of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

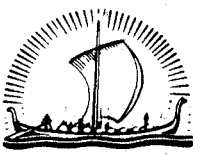
many a Shakespeare scene becomes both more pleasing and more plausible. We have read of inner stage and balcony, but I for one was not prepared for the stage. (or inner ...nplete "modern" ...s and a ceiling and ...phobic tension as you ...d known that the apron ...ids itself to outdoor scenes, as no theatre since seems to have done, but we have to see the Globe stage in action to be convinced that it equals the modern stage in its presentation of interiors too.

So much for this stage as a static picture; it is still more wonderful—and harder to judge from books—as that moving picture which is the action of a play. The force even of the various tableaux derives in large part from the sudden movement of their unveiling; they are framed not only in space (by the rest of the stage) but in time (by the scenes that precede and follow). While study and chamber give a very firm impression of locality (contrary to much that we have been told about abstract and unlocalized space) the most brilliant effect is that of movement from one locality to another; Shakespeare's scenic progressions have partly the character of medieval staging, partly that of cinematic montage. On his stage, even the soliloquy is seen in terms of space and movement. To speak an aside of a monologue, the actor can simply walk across to one of the pillars or down to the railing that rings the apron.

It was lucky, since he had Macbeth's soliloquies to handle, that Ian Keith was the boldest of the Hofstra actors in his use of the space at his disposal. The others sometimes seemed afraid of departing from the usage of the modern stage.

It should be added that Keith has few equals in this country as a speaker of Shakespearean verse; he does not yield to Maurice Evans in his eagerness to render the music but he succeeds where Evans fails in delivering the sense. Face, voice, body and carriage take us back to the days of heroic acting.

New non-fiction from VIKING



"A fine piece of portraiture, fair, candid, and affectionate." —*MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*

England knew him as "the brains of the Labour Party," the gadfly of the London School of Economics. To Americans, he was the friend of Holmes and Frankfurter, the fiery lecturer at Harvard, the profound authority on our political institutions. Journalist, philosopher, politico and scholar, economic theorist and wary radical, he was one of the most remarkable personages of our era—a legendary figure even in his own time who can now be properly understood. *Illustrated* $4.00

HAROLD LASKI, A biography
by Kingsley Martin

A fascinating survey of modern science—

its breath-taking discoveries, its dramatic developments, its hope for the future. What do you know about the "machine heart and lungs"? About the developments in cancer research, supersonic speed, the creation of life from lifeless matter? You'll find explanations of these and a broad range of additional scientific wonders-in-progress in Mr. Kaempffert's newest book, which takes the intelligent layman on a guided tour along the main paths as well as some of the more intriguing by-paths of modern science. $3.50

EXPLORATIONS IN SCIENCE
by Waldemar Kaempffert

Intimate recollections of one Nobel prize-winner by another

"The door is pushed ajar. A man sidles into the shop as a down-and-out slips into the warmth of a church. His eyes are hidden behind the brim of a battered old hat. . . . An unfrocked priest perhaps?" Rather it is André Gide—the man of singular, irritating neuroses, the writer of deep artistic integrity—as he was seen and understood for 30 years by his close friend, Martin du Gard. $2.75

RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDRÉ GIDE
by Roger Martin du Gard

THE VIKING PRESS, 18 East 48th Street, New York 17

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YES or NO

Yes	No	
☐	☐	Do most readers live in towns where the *New Republic* is antidote to the "one-party press?"
☐	☐	Is this press in America going to be examined from head to toe in a detailed survey to appear in these pages?
☐	☐	Will the *New Republic* soon expose in an exclusive article "the man who succeeded Adlai Stevenson?"
☐	☐	Will the *New Republic* print the story of how high tariff "protectionists" are outmaneuvering the President?
☐	☐	Are the editors planning a fresh look for the *New Republic* to match its fresh facts and interpretation?

If you answered YES on all, you've scored 100%
—and you've discovered 5 more reasons for introducing the New Republic *to your friends today*

TEAR OFF HERE

20 weeks of America's leading journal of opinion for $2

and as a last-chance bonus

The documented, hard-to-get report on McCarthy's finances.

For the enclosed $..... send 20-week *New Republic* subscriptions at $2 each, plus the McCarthy reprint *free* to the following:

NAME..... NAME.....

ADDRESS..... ADDRESS.....

CITY & ZONE.....STATE..... CITY & ZONE.....STATE.....

The NEW REPUBLIC *230 W. 41st Street, New York 36, N.Y.*

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
5-25-63
ST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED